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754 to attempt to have anyone sing it for me, since it was too dangerous and would be likely to kill me. This was said even by the men who were willing and anxious to demonstrate the sorcery which removed the soul by the opening of the heart.

If a man who has sung another suddenly changes his mind and wishes to save him, he can swim out into the water at daylight, wash himself, return to the shore, and paint himself with red ocher. But it is insisted that if the singer did not swim and paint himself his victim would surely die. According to the natives the far-off country to the south is where all the people sing this death magic against the men of the north. This region to the south is no definite place. It is here "that stones walk like men." "These stones walk around and sing these songs, and men follow and listen and learn them and sing them and make the men in the north sick."

One of the most deadly songs is the whitefish song. The breath of its victim comes rapidly and very hard, which means that the fish has eaten out the insides of the person. The tide regulates the time of the death. When it comes in, the victim becomes extremely ill, his heart beats very fast, and everyone says, "Who has done this and who has sung this song?" When the tide goes out again, the person becomes a little stronger, and when it has reached its lowest ebb he feels almost normal. As the tide comes in the victim becomes sicker and continues to grow weaker until at full tide he dies.

753 Balliman's sister was very ill with bronchial pneumonia. Everyone
754 knew she had been "sung" by the whitefish song because she continued to expectorate and vomit. When she became sick the tide was well in; when it went out she got better. Ultimately, in spite of this extremely strong magic, she recovered. During the crisis there was talk about everyone's being forced to go in swimming in order that the old men could see who had done the singing by observing those who refused to go in: they would be guilty. Nothing came of the talk. Although the woman was supposed to die from this powerful magic and everyone was certain she had been sung, there seemed to be no criticism of the belief after it had failed to operate.

826 *Possession by a Mokoi.*—The Murngin believe that deafness, dumb-
828 ness, and insanity are due to possession of the afflicted one by a mokoi.
732 Other illnesses are also caused by the entrance of a mokoi into the head of the victim. There were two deaf and dumb men in the group, one of them a near imbecile, the other mentally normal. The first had to be watched and taken care of by all the others in order to remain

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alive, while the second provided for himself and was treated like any other man except that he talked and was spoken to by a sign language. The relatives of these two assume that mokois had entered their heads and that some day they would be led out into the bush, where someone would steal their souls, for "plenty of crazy men have been killed that way." It is thought that when these men were babies a dog had walked over the body of the more normal one a few times but had then been kicked out of the way; while the dog had walked over the other one several times, thus making him much more insane. "That one [the normal one]," said his brother, "when he was a baby a dog walked over him once and maybe twice. That made it so he couldn't hear or talk. I think that other one had a dog walk over him five or six times before his mother kicked that dog. I think that when the mother of that first boy kicked that dog he yelped and that is the reason he is not silly like that other crazy man. That other dog just went 'Unh' and didn't call out, and that is the reason his head is no good." 826 828 732

Image Whipping.—Another form of magic is to draw an image and then go over the whole of the body, naming each part and using the name of the intended victim. The image is then whipped with strings. This will cause a man's body to rot to pieces, and it is supposed to have killed several men among the various tribes in northeastern Arnhem Land. 754

Dreaming and Magic.—A bad dream can also cause sickness. Dreams of an open grave, of a recently dead man, or of the totemic emblem are among those which cause a man to rise from his sleep, build up his fire, put a branch of green leaves in the fire until it is smoking, brush himself off, and, if it seems to have been a particularly unpleasant dream, brush off the members of his immediate family. 753 787 751

Excretion and Magic.—There is a certain amount of fear among the Murngin that excreta or waste food products will be picked up by an enemy sorcerer and used to inflict sickness upon them. The belief, however, is not very strong, since no great care is exercised to hide this matter so that it cannot be used by the sorcerers. A man, however, before urinating or defecating, digs a hole and squats over it. He is seldom seen standing while urinating. Women squat too, but when in the bush put their hands on their knees and bend their knees slightly while remaining partially upright. 754 514

If there is a particular fear of magic, fish bones, kangaroo bones, 754

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in the chest. We don't feel well. Please, Munyiryir, help us.' I went then and took a shell and filled it with water and washed my hands. I felt over their chests and took out a bone and showed them. A man came from another country. He had a sore back. He said, 'I can't walk.' I looked from a long way and I saw that little hard thing inside him. I blew on his back and this thing came out a long way. I showed it to him. The other man went hunting for kangaroo then and his back didn't hurt him and he was very pleased.

"Those two spirits sit down on my shoulders. Sometimes they sit on my head. I call them my children. Sometimes they used to come to me in the night. They would say, 'There is a man sick over there.'

"In the early morning I would say, 'Where is that man?' and they would show me and they would say, 'He has got something inside him,' and they would show me where. Sometimes I used to take bushes and brush against the man and now blow on him and that hard thing would fall a long way from him.

"When I first started some of the people said, 'You are lying and not telling the truth.' I said to them, 'You look in my mouth.' I opened my mouth and let them see I had nothing in there."

A Case Record of Willidjungo's Treatments and Cures.—A Birkili clansman had an ache in his back. Willidjungo was called. He gave him the usual rubbing treatment, found the place that was painful, and removed a small stick. This had been placed within him, said Willidjungo, "by a mokoi. This mokoi was a swallow which swooped down over the camp. This bird is the mokoi of some very old dead person. He was angry because the victim had a yam stick in his possession that was owned by a Burera tribesman." The Burera are somewhat distant people from the Birkili and they are looked upon with extreme suspicion as great sorcerers by the tribes to the east of them. The mokoi, according to Willidjungo, had definitely tried to kill his patient. The mokois at times act in the rôle of vampire, since they can definitely attack a living man and make him ill or take away his good sense (make him insane).

Munyiryir, a former magician, had a very heavy cold in his lungs, which might have been a slight touch of pneumonia. After he had suffered a few days with it he called Willidjungo to treat him. Willidjungo brought his paraphernalia, including the spirit bag, a container of water, and, of course, his familiars. He removed a pointed stick from Munyiryir's side. He informed him that it was caused by an old mokoi. This mokoi came in the middle of the night and stood near their two camps (their huts were close together). In the middle of the night Willidjungo awakened his two wives and told them to look at the mokoi, which was standing by a tamarind tree. Both of them said that they had seen this ghost. When

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APPENDIX IV

DREAMS

DREAMS are always related to the extraordinary in Murngin experience. They are never expressive of the ordinary round of events but are definitely placed in the category of the supernatural. It is believed that when a man dreams his soul is moving about over the country away from the body and observing what is going on elsewhere. If, for example, he dreams of a fight in a distant country he believes the soul has been watching this fight in the far-distant country and reporting to his body what has happened. The various experiences that the man dreams are supposed to be those which his soul has been going through during his sleeping hours. During the hot afternoon the men frequently sleep in the shade, and if it becomes necessary to waken one of them, this is never done hurriedly but with great gentleness and care for fear that the soul will not have time to return to the body.

The soul, during these extra-corporeal experiences, is in a world where the totems, the unborn totemic children, and other extra-mundane creatures exist. The dreams in which the soul has all of its extraordinary experiences can be both beneficial and dangerous to the man or woman who dreams. Dreams by women would not fit into the general structure of Murngin society, since the world of the extraordinary is largely experienced by men. There is no doubt that women dream; but the social situation which would cause dreaming in men under many conditions would not exist for women, and if there were any ritual causation of dreaming it would be of a very weak kind.

It is necessary for a man to dream before his child is born. This dream is always of an extraordinary variety since the Murngin consider the child to have left its totem well and approached the father and asked him where it could find its mother. It is the father who directs the child to its mother; it then enters her womb, to be carried by her until birth.

Just before or during a great ceremony such as the Narra, Djungguan, or Gunabibi one or more of the participants is supposed to dream of a recently dead man who belonged to his totemic clan and who possessed the same totem. The power name of the man is then given to the totemic emblem which is to be used, which means to the Murngin that there is an identification between the man and the totem. This spiritualization of the dream to the level of the sacred totemic world finds expression in the fundamental myth in Murngin social organization, namely, the story of the two Wawilak

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Emu. It was because they fought that Jabiru stayed by the sea and Emu went into the bush. 773X

Bamapama, Trickster Hero

Bamapama is the trickster hero of the Murngin. He was a man who lived in the mythological period and committed a great number of asocial acts, most of them incestuous. He is depicted as ever filled with sexual desire and always anxious to satisfy it by attacking the wives of other men, particularly those women who belong to his own moiety. He is a somewhat stupid fellow, rather gay, and is usually attempting some trick by which he can satisfy his inordinate lust. 776 773X

Any attempt to get at a deeper understanding of his place in Murngin culture must consider not only the general content of the stories about him, which follow, but also the effect on the Murngin to whom they are told, the other uses to which the myths are put besides mere story-telling, and at times the reasons why they are told.

The Murngin think of Bamapama as a "crazy man" and one who breaks all tribal laws and cannot be disciplined. A man who is "crazy" and a young man who cannot be disciplined are classed as one and the same. A man of this kind (often called wakinu and "all the same as Bamapama") is usually killed by his own people, or they take him to another country and have some of their enemies kill him. Although an insane person and an asocial person are classed under the same term, there is a distinction made in the behavior of the people toward them, for an insane man is given special treatment and is protected and guarded by all his people. 828 626

The Bamapama stories are correlated with the clan local organization. Some of the themes of this cycle are enacted in ritual (see the Marunga clan garma ceremony, pages 564-565). The Bamapama stories, as well as the mother-in-law story (see page 562) function as negative sanctions in the enforcement of clan and moiety laws surrounding sexual discipline, particularly that of incest. The stories always elicit gales of laughter and make the trickster a figure of derision; at the same time he is liked as an amusing fellow. He has something of the fascination of the devil in our own society, although it must be clearly understood that the native trickster is not morally as well developed as is our own trickster. Bamapama is a symbol of asocial behavior since he not only breaks the laws of exogamy but acts "like a crazy fellow." When he eats charcoal and "runs around like a dog," when he fights with dogs instead of human beings, the laughter in a group of listeners aroused by his escapades seems to act as a release for the repression of asocial desires in the minds of the people. The Bamapama stories constrain the individual from committing similar acts by his consciousness of the group's disapproval of such behavior and by a disapproval of himself should he even conceive of himself in a similar situation. 773X 776 182 626 522

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124 159 787 approach to life. The dreams ranged from long mundane narratives, relating food-collecting exploits, to matters of sacred concern, sexual adventures, feuds and fighting, spirits, Spirit-Landings (referring to the conception of a wife or some female relative), sickness and death, and dreams reflecting Mission contact, showing conflict between the indigenous and the introduced culture. The most important of these were those of Mission contact, contrasting the native religion with Christianity, and introducing fantastic conceptions of God, Jesus and the missionaries. On the other hand, a great many of these dreams were concerned primarily with indigenous religion, and it is these dreams that have assumed great importance to the natives themselves. Men "dream out" the meanings of their sacred ritual, coming spiritually into direct contact with the Ancestral Beings. They perform the rituals in dreams, use sacred emblems in unconventional ways, and also dream additions to their rituals and totemic designs, additions, of course, based on traditional patterns. Many sacred designs are altered and added to because of dreams, although the original totemic pattern is retained. Sacred songs, too, are influenced directly and indirectly by dreaming; for the Ancestral Being who has inspired a particular song-cycle may suggest an addition or modification to a headman during a dream.

124 787 159 828 The natives' own interpretation of their dreams, apart from those which have a bearing on the sacred life, varies considerably. It may reflect a man's brooding over an event, or thinking about someone: "I was thinking about such and such, and dreamt this"; "I was worrying about so and so and dreamt about them"; "My child is sick, and I dreamt this" (often something apparently quite unrelated to the supposed "cause" of dreaming). A death in the camp will inspire most men and women to dream about the deceased's spirit, about some other death (in the past or the future), about mortuary ceremonies, clan songs and the Spirit Lands of the dead.

A man's dissatisfaction with his marital arrangements will be expressed through a series of sexual dreams, while an elopement in the camp will produce dreams relating to feuds and fighting, quarrels and arguments, or allegoric dreams through which such events are said to be mirrored. Other dreams portend future events. But when camp life is running smoothly, involved dreams of a secular or sacred nature are interpreted as, "I was hungry last night and dreamt that"; or, "I was worrying over some tobacco"; or, "Someone stole my supper"; and so on. These interpretations, as for the Kunapipi dreams which follow, are often put forward irrespective of the context of the dream. The performance of large ceremonies like the *dua* and *jiritja nara*, the Wauwalak rituals and the like, when the whole camp participates, produces among both men and women a crop of dreams that relate mainly to the relevant rituals, although a mass of contradictory interpretative material is put forward.

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Dreams are rarely "extraordinary"[1] when they occur in Yirrkalla life; they are related to the ordinary round of events, and are definitely not placed in the category of the supernatural. They are an adjunct of normal and conventional living; and just as a man's body and spirit have experiences in the waking life, so the spirit (separated now from material ties) has similar experiences (within the range of an individual's knowledge) in the dreaming sphere, where time and space are ignored. The aborigines' theory is that the spirit, during sleep, is released from the body, and during a dream wanders in timeless space, into the stream of the Eternal Dreamtime.

* * * *

We may turn now to our main theme, the Kunapipi dreams, for the general question of Yirrkalla dream life requires a separate study.

Only three Kunapipi dreams will be considered here: these, among the many hundreds of dreams recorded, were the only ones really relevant to this discussion. Most of those dreams which referred to sacred and ceremonial aspects were associated with other Wauwalak rituals, like the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak*, but more particularly with the "higher" sacred emblems and ritual of Djanggawul, Laintjung and Banaitja and so on. The reason for this paucity of Kunapipi dreams is possibly that this cult has not as yet a really firm grip of the people's minds, as have more typically indigenous forms. It consists, as we have said, of introduced ritual superimposed on traditional mythology, and from that consideration alone would not be so deeply ingrained in the culture as other and far older local rituals. On the other hand, the three dreams set out here were inspired by lengthy conversations on various aspects of the Kunapipi. Later, when certain Kunapipi ceremonies were in operation, and a great many people of both sexes were brought into the sphere of its influence, it was not possible to record dreams. We may assume, however, that the performance of the Kunapipi would produce related dreaming; for while other ceremonies were being held, it was found that all those concerned invariably had relevant dreams. An important adjunct in the study of native religious life should be the analysis of informants' and participants' dreams; this should not be confined to one sex alone, for we have shown elsewhere the important part played by women, particularly in the Fertility cults, and their dreams reflect their approach to ceremonial (as well as to secular) life.

These Kunapipi dreams belonged to two men. One was Banggalawi,[2] a *dua* Djamburpingu *matu*, Ralwia *mala* man, a middle-aged ceremonial headman, well versed in both Djanggawul and Wauwalak ritual, and a leader of the Milingimbi Kunapipi side. The other

1. L. Warner's Appendix on Dreams (*op. cit.* pp. 511–12) is inadequate.
2. The Bengaliwo of L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 182 *et seq.*

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on the way to the sacred ground, and we put those boys under the branches and covered them up. The *jiritja* men were sitting in the forks of the *djepalmani*, and calling out. I was walking around beating my sticks and singing. 159 787 796

"The women came towards the *djepalmani* and sat around it. And the two *jiritja* men were calling out, because that Snake had swallowed the Wauwalak sisters. 881

"And just at that moment, we all became *wonga:r* Dreaming people. All the women who had been sitting there, around the *djepalmani*, had been swallowed by the Snake; for the *jelmalandji* had come down from the sacred ground and turned into Julunggul. Some of us who were *wonga:r* were brothers of the women who had been swallowed. We brothers were looking around for our sisters: 'Where have our sisters gone?' We began to cry out, 'Where are you, our sisters?' And as we were calling, the Julunggul, or *jelmalandji*, vomited all the women so that they fell back into the places where they had been sitting around the *djepalmani*. And the white ants came up to them and bit them and made them alive. 'Ah, our sisters are back,' we cried out. And we changed back from being *wonga:r* people, and we began to sing out ritually because of this.

"We said to the women, 'Look at our *djepalmani*. See the flying foxes sitting in the forks of the tree; they are hanging there. And that rail across from one forked post to the other is a straight branch; and under that straight branch, all the young flying foxes are hanging covered with foliage'. (These are the initiates holding on to the rail under cover of branches, beneath the *djepalmani*.)

"And I came into this cleared place in front of the women and the *djepalmani*, calling out like a man coming after those flying foxes, hunting them, shaking the forked posts as I would shake a tree full of flying foxes. That means that these flying foxes see me and fly over from that tree. And the two men in the forks, who were flying foxes, cried out from their branches; and all the other men danced in, like men coming to hunt the flying foxes.

"All the women changed back to *wonga:r* women and became the Wauwalak sisters; only these were not two, but many. They held yam sticks, just like the Wauwalak sisters did. They cried out for the boys in the *djepalmani*, '*wa ! wa ! wa !*' and the sound of it flew in all directions. Then we men danced in again and circled around them and the *djepalmani*. But just as we began to dance, I awoke".

The informant commented that he dreamt this Kunapipi dream because he had been talking a lot about the Kunapipi rituals and the *ngu:rlmak* (some ceremonies in the latter concern flying foxes); he had been thinking and worrying about them, wondering when they could be held, and so his dream was a natural outcome of this. [828]

The dream itself needs little interpretation, for its description of the ritual varies little from what has already been described. The 159 787 796

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159 the *nanggaru*; some went into the *nanggaru*, and others went on and
787 into the *kanala*. All the men with the young initiates called out, when
they paused now and then on their way to the *kanala* and *nanggaru*;
796 and they all made a big noise while standing there.
881 "Then the men danced around the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, but did not go into them. They danced the 'Lightning whipping (that is, striking) the tree', which we call the *djamala*; but it is also called by the sacred terms *djeimbalma*, *gurungandungandu*, *w'raidji'kaijunduna*, *kokarara*, and *kanggarara*, which mean the flash of lightning striking and splitting the tree. While we danced, the *dua* men swung the bullroarers, which we call *maralpan(dji)*, *pundjarlari* and *kindji:lari*, while its human hair string attachment (the tail of the Snake) is *jurawa*, *mikara*, *libana* or *djuruwalimbana*. The bullroarer is like the Snake
[749] himself calling, for when you swing it, twirling it from the stick to which the cord is attached, you send lightning all over the place.

"Then we called and sang the sacred names of the *kanala*:
[539] '*kanala ; kanala'indja ; ju:tubilmani ; kanu:lanawalkwalkgwina; Kanala'buldjalwondinja ; kanala'djeijil'malindjei ; kanala'madpaindi:nja; kanala'buramanbir*' (e.g. see Chapter VII, Song 3).

"We turned to the *nanggaru*, the Snake's hole, to the place where Djuwalji was standing (at *e*), which was the mark made by the Snake when it came out of the *nanggaru*. And we called and sang the sacred names of the *nanggaru*: '*nanggaru ; wuninbilibaija ; wa:ngnanggu ; baiala; djalpunbu; wandi:ku; buldjalwondi; winibini:nbailji ; buldjalwondinja*—the nest in which the Snake lies.'

"We turned to the two *jelmalandji*, the Snake towering over the place where the initiates had been lying, and the "cabbage" palm at *g*. And we called and sang their sacred names:

[539] "'*kanggara ; dju:randju:ran'kanggara ; gumanangaleija'angaleija ; gumanangali:tjbili:tjbi ; gumana'wu:rulndja'wu:rulndja ; ru:kari ; windigwi:agwi:a'windigwi:agwi:a ; djalparu'ru:karwa ; bu:ra:rwa ; wuraldja ; gumalanga'ngeidjangeidja ; gumanang'ngali'djili:dji ; windigwi:agwi:a'djanggara.*' (This last word is chanted when the Kunapipi headman beats his sticks as the *jelmalandji* are pushed over.) And we pushed down the *jelmalandji*, so that the *watamunu*,
[616] the emu-feathered tops, fell off. The main *jelmalandji* (*h*) was for the *dua* linguistic groups of Marakulu and Ri:radjingu; while the other (*g*) was for the Murungun, Djapu and Djarwak, *dua* groups.

"As the bullroarer was swung, its string broke, and the loose piece of wood flew over and hit a *durilji* gum tree: the impact was so powerful that the tree split, and pieces fell to each side. Then we walked over to pick up the bullroarer, and as I bent down I awoke."

●[828] Gumuk said that anger was the cause of this dream: he had cooked some rice for his supper, leaving it on the fire. When he came back for it, it was gone; someone had stolen it. He was "a bit sorry for himself, because he had been cooking just for nothing". He went to

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sleep feeling hungry, and dreamt about this Kunapipi. That is, he went back to his "Dreaming" for consolation. [828]

Most of this dream too consists of description of ritual, but not in conventional sequence. Some interesting aspects appear, which amplify our previous discussion of the Kunapipi. There is complete identification of the *jelmalandji* with the Julunggul Snake. But Gumuk re-interpreted the *kanala* and *nanggaru* in commenting on his dream. He said that the *nanggaru* was actually the "Mother's" (that is, the Wauwalak's) uterus, while the *kanala* was the channel ("river") or passage of the vagina, "through which people passed in the Dreaming" (that is, during the period when the Wauwalak walked the earth). He was possibly interpolating here his own theory as to the meaning of these symbols, for usually the *kanala* is the uterus and the *nanggaru* the place of the big Snake. This individual interpretation, however, is extremely valuable; for it is far more logical to classify the *nanggaru*, which is round or oval, as a uterus, and the *kanala*, narrow and resembling a channel, as a vagina. Gumuk's reference to people passing through the *kanala* in the "Dreaming period", is connected with the idea that the Mother "let out" people from her womb, so that they could perform sacred ritual, returning when this was completed. This aspect is not apparent in Yirrkalla mythology; Gumuk possibly assimilated it from Rose River, where Kunapipi ritual has a stronger hold of the people's imagination and sacred activity, and where it is more likely to be influenced by external features. [177]

The calling of the sacred alternate names for the Lightning dancing, the bullroarer and its string, the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, as well as for the *jelmalandji*, has not been mentioned before in our discussion. The concept is found, however, in the calling of the *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukalilji* (*jiritja*), or "power" names of invocation, and some of these are widely distributed. The use of the term *djamala*, in reference to the "Lightning whipping" dance, is equivalent to the *djamala mareiin* mentioned in Chapter IV, which consists of the throwing of fire-sticks; both refer to the Snake's sending lightning so that a tree was split and the Wauwalak were frightened. The climax of Gumuk's dream is the breaking of the bullroarer's string while it is being twirled: it flies through the air and splits a tree, but is itself undamaged. This symbolizes Julunggul's act of sending lightning to split a tree, for the bullroarer "is like the Snake" (that is, part of its spirit), and its whirling "like lightning". It is the natural culmination of the *djamala* dancing around the *nanggaru* and *kanala*. [552]

The final dream also belongs to Gumuk.[5]

"I have been dreaming about Kunapipi, and two 'Dreaming' men [574]

5. Reference: Book 12, Series A, Dec. 27th, 1946.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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intervals, until we entered the sacred ground where the *nanggaru*, the *kanala*, and one *jelmalandji* were ready.

"One *kakawar* stood (at *a*, in the accompanying sketch figure, 10) outside the *nanggaru* billabong, and the other (at *b*) outside the *kanala* "river"; and they called out. I stood (at *c*) beside the *kanala*. We then rested, while the two *kakawar* made the human-hair cord for the bullroarer (*d*); then one of these men (at *a*) covered his face with leaves, all hanging down from his headband.

"We called out again, and looked over towards the *jelmalandji*, standing upright alongside the *kanala*. From out of its bunch of emu feathers, we saw smoke rising: billows of smoke (*e*) coming from the top of the *jelmalandji*, but no fire. We took hold of the *jelmalandji* and placed it in the *kanala* 'river', which is really the Wauwalak's vagina. We put it in the trench, lying down, like a big penis. Then we danced around the *kanala*, 'taking' opossum dancing, pushing in the mound until the *jelmalandji* was buried and the *kanala* covered.

"After resting, the two *kakawar* men got the bullroarer, which had been left in the *nanggaru*; they attached the cord to a stick, wound it up, and swung it, and there was a big noise. All the women in the main camp answered it; and other men appeared, and erected a *djepalmandji* between the sacred ground and the main camp. The three of us came down towards it, and saw all the young boys hidden under the framework, and the women sitting in a bunch covered with blankets. And as I looked, I awoke".

Gumuk mentioned that he had this Kunapipi dream because he was worrying about getting some tobacco to smoke. He was worrying and thinking about this, and dropped off to sleep and dreamt this dream.

As in the last two dreams, the incidents mentioned refer to actual Kunapipi ritual. Gumuk did not try to interpret the smoking *jelmalandji*; but it seems most likely that his desire for tobacco, in order to smoke before sleeping, has been thus projected into the dream. It is not unusual for a secular activity of this kind to appear in dreams devoted mainly to sacred subjects. On the sacred ground itself, tobacco is considered *mareiin* (sacred) and may be smoked only by the Kunapipi headman (or other ceremonial leader) and the elders, although others may step outside the ground and enjoy a smoke in the normal way. In view of this, it does not seem necessary to search for an esoteric reason for the smoking *jelmalandji*; it is possible, too, in a ritualistic sense, for Gumuk to identify himself with the *jelmalandji* (irrespective of the sex of the Julunggul).

Gumuk reiterated his view that the *kanala*, a "river", is really the Wauwalak's vagina. The *jelmalandji* symbolizes the penis, which is removed from its upright position and placed in the *kanala* "like a big penis", just as happens in coitus. The opossum dancing around the *kanala* is, as has been mentioned, concerned with simulation of

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
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159 the English Company Island, people who still remembered how to do it
[501] (pages 459-460). Some of the people came out to our boat by lying on a large log and paddling with their hands and feet. I got in the dinghy and went ashore with some of the people on the boat. When my mari saw me
[152] he cried and cried. Some people are like that among us black men. We cry when we meet people just as we cry sometimes when we tell them goodbye. I tried to talk to him, but I couldn't say anything. It was just the same as if I had lost my language. I had to talk to him in the sign language. I felt very foolish. I brought flour with me, but they did not know what it was.
[252] They cooked flour in paper bark just like they did palm tree flour.
[609] All the people were very angry with the white man for keeping me away so long, and some of them sneaked out in the bush and got their spears and clubs and were going to kill the white man. I said no, that it was no good. I said, "The white men talk very hard and sometimes they swear at you, but inside they are all right. Sometimes when they swear, they mean
[439] good." While we were there I got my people to make gifts of turtle shell and pearl to the white man, and he gave them hatchets and knives and calico. I got in the boat and started to go back to Port Darwin with the white man. Cape Don Tommy and the white man quarreled when we got to Croker Island because Cape Don Tommy wanted to sleep on shore. We got out at Croker Island and went by canoe to Cape Don. There I met that girl again, but her husband was there then. We went on to Port Darwin for a moon and came back to Elcho Island. Once more I went into the bush and stayed.

His Wives and Their Parents

159 581 828 825 Black men walk about single and by themselves. At first they have no mates. By and by they find one that belongs to them. By and by children come. White men walk about by themselves. By and by they find a woman, and more children come out. The Macassar man was all the same.

Big old man kangaroo walks about single and by himself. By and by he catches his woman, and then there are little kangaroos. Opossum and fly and bandicoot—they are all the same.

Python catches his mate and by and by there are eggs, then there are children. Frilled-neck lizard, native companion, honeybees, pigeon, hawk-billed turtle, and all those animals—they are just the same.

Black men cut down trees and by and by little ones come up. Everywhere and all the time it is always the same. Walk around single, by and by a mate, and by and by children. There is an inside meaning to this. Some of us old men who are not fools understand. If those two Wawilak creator sisters had not done wrong in their own country and fornicated with those

159 581 828 813 825

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
OI17 Murngin OI17

Wongar men, things would have been different. Both the men and the women were Dua. They were incestuous. It was like a brother and sister being together. Those two sisters left that country, one pregnant and the other menstruating. If they had not done this, this cycle would never have happened. Everyone and all plants and animals would have stayed single. But after the Wawilak sisters had done this they made it the law for everyone (pages 250-251).

When I was a small boy I walked about single. One day my gawel came to me and said, "Look at me. I am your gawel. You must give me kangaroo and turtle and spears. By and by I will give you my gatu mielk" (pages 93-98).

I gave him spears and spear-throwers, hair belts, and all kinds of food because he would give me his daughters. When I first started making presents to him for my wife, my younger brothers all helped me. By and by, when they get ready to have a wife, I shall help them make presents to their gawels. My gawel gave my father presents of spears and food, and he also gave my arndi presents because I was her son and because she is my gawel's sister.

We like our wives' fathers very much. Suppose my gawel and my father quarrel and suppose they fight. I can do nothing. I cannot help my father. I cannot help my father-in-law. I must do nothing. They are all the same to me. I must try to stop any fight.

All men try to get plenty of wakus in other countries. This is because they send presents to their gawels. They send things that aren't in this country. This country, where we are now, has no stone. Relatives here send presents to the Ritarngo country for stone spear heads. They send bamboo to the Goyder River people for it. Some others have no white clay and they send to other countries for it. Fathers-in-law and sons-in-law are the people who do this (pages 95-96).

Sometimes a no-good gawel promises his daughter to three wakus. All these "half" sons-in-law give presents to him. They all think they are going to get that girl. By and by one gets her. This means a big row. The other two want to fight this lucky one, and they always fight the father of the girl because he has been two-faced. They think this gawel maybe is a little bit crazy. Sometimes two or three boys, when they are all trying to get a girl, see that her father is no good and they all quit.

When a man marries a woman his father-in-law tells him to take good care of her. When a man has two daughters from his father-in-law, sometimes the old man comes and says to him, "It is better that I give your younger brother this next girl." The older brother says, "Yes, you tell him

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

YULENGOR

828 827 Stone Age man believes that his emotions are seated in his stomach, and his names for anger, fear, jealousy, and the rest, are descriptive of the changes that take place in the stomach in generating emotion. They make no distinction between anger, indignation, and jealousy; they are known as 'ngoi-mari-buna' ('ngoi' referring to underneath or the foundation), meaning the stomach boils.

[578] A man who refuses to support his relative in a quarrel is called 'ngoi kapumiri'; that is, he has a watery stomach (or as we should say in English 'no guts').

Pleasure, joy, and happiness are dependent on the stomach, which subsides into a peaceful calm on hearing welcome news. It was explained that when a man sees an enemy approaching, his stomach boils and his anger rises, but if the enemy says he has come to make peace, the man's anger disappears and his stomach subsides into a flat calm 'like the sea after a storm'; he has 'the wind taken out of his sails'.

Sorrow and regret also rise from the stomach. Fear comes from the same source, and rises and swells in the throat; Stone Age man also knows something about his 'heart in his mouth'.

[593] Love is dependent on the stomach, and the affection of a father for his son, or the devotion of mothers for their children, boils from the depths. I was reminded of the ageless biblical story of Joseph's meeting his treacherous half-brothers after many years; he was speechless, 'For his bowels did yearn for his (youngest) brother'.

152 It has often been suggested that aborigines have not the same highly developed affection for each other as white people, but nothing could be farther from the truth. Devotion is genuine, and intimate, and is openly expressed on scores of occasions which in a white community would call for little more than passing sympathy. The first initiation in a boy's life reaches its climax in circumcision, when wide-spread emotion is expressed. Women, girls, and children

304 881 [302]